[133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487] Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[194] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy),
[301] which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[237] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The[A] teeth
are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aihyngapeva in Tapirapé,
a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon
subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like denti-
tion (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier
I acquired in Tampiindua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centi-
meters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five
and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first
menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between
January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game
crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as
a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks
(Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a
small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called kobova. The wounds are first rubbed with a
kaauna leaf (kda, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This
leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-
ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[38] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-
blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound
for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichó-
ha(u)va) onto the wounds.
It may be that they do this
to alleviate the pain, for
the girls cry a great deal
[107:115] throughout the
operation, and the tattooed
parts become terribly
swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
881 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance,
looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

[1] [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the amaniuŋ or comic
881 ornaments they were in childhood. Some others change names,
[953] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation.
They eat nothing but green-maize cauĵ [a rep]. Both men and
women sing the haĵ, a kind of national anthem. When the whole
ceremony is over, the girl is painted with se genipap stripes
characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
482 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of tem are, like Urukumy
for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the stooing is to differen-
tiate the women from the girls. The smallknife used to make the
incisions (Photo. 22) is called yoamĵ. It consists of a fragment of
[297] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in
a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[304] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide
a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here
(Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (anoamĵ) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created
by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is
also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akaĵ, aoiauchĵ), another
rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Cavidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and
a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth."
As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I ob-
served. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 382),
although they disagree with the description above by the same author
in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the
lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizon-
tal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women.
[Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include
several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the
last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
171 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
[114] tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which
are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken
into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

[108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the Tapirapé Kamairabó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage (aviõ, aviõ) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl Ampitsínia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[311] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]):
"... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumí, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumí wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
776 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topĩ). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topĩ), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topĩ, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topĩ and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iũnwera. Urukumũ picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
● [23] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
[821] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitãua

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

292 Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
881 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
●237 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

532 [108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 [171] of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some 301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted [283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut, [237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the [386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles- 301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton 881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only 171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by 301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Boróro (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 301 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epidemics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments. [182] [764] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuaxantú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 292 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., 301 881 Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 301 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. [412] According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into •237 the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuaní if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuaní, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation ceremony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [881] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichí in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers.

[101]

171/411 The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[314]

[237] The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long.

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

171
411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound [824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé) [314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each [237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out [439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the
[462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all
[252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by
[422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane
[237] shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

136 262 (179) chauanakaõ. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the mutillid depicted in Fig. 518 and known as the "squeaking ant" [Tr., in English, "velvet ant"] owing to the sound it emits when caught, and also as "little jaguar" or "jaguar louse" owing to its pattern. A bold etymologist might perhaps interpret the Tapirapé word as "dog song" or even "jaguar song," taking into account not only the sound and the spots, but also the terms mentioned under No. 23 and the fact that kaõ is the name of a specific song in Tapirapé and corresponds to the Guarani term guahũ which means "the barking of dogs" (Recalde 1, 68). There might even be a connection with the large stinger possessed by the female of the species, which causes sufficient pain to draw howls of despair from its victim. The Tapirapé do not eat this insect.

(180) taiyva -- fire ant (Solenopsis geminata). Not in R. von Ihering's book.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the carpenter ant (Prenolepis) in Fig. 519.

(181) mamangao -- bumblebee (Bombus spec.). The Tapirapé asserted that they eat the honey of this large bee that is described as "worthless" by R. von Ihering (256). They call all kinds of [237] honey and bee ef or eirũ, and they eat the honey of 20 different bees. My companion F.C. Kegel gathered 29 Tapirapé names for bees.

[119:87]

(182) kaueauĩ -- mandaçaia [Tr., a stingless honeybee] [137] (Melipona spec.). They eat the honey of this bee, which incidentally is also regarded as delicious by the Whites. R. von Ihering's Fig. 533.

(183) tatef -- jatai (Trigona spec.). They eat the tasty honey [237] of this small bee. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I dealt with another Trigona species, the graze-eye, under No. 173.

(184) anchova. The Tapirapé gave this name to a small black bee which gets entangled in the hair and which, according to them, does not yield honey. It may be the irapuã [Tr., a small stingless bee] (Trigona ruficrus), whose honey is actually sparse and "worthless" in R. von Ihering's words (256). Not depicted in his book.

(185) kiua -- wasp in general. The larvae are eaten roasted in their nest cells and then removed from their cubicles with a twig

Photo. 15

Framework of headdress without the feathers.

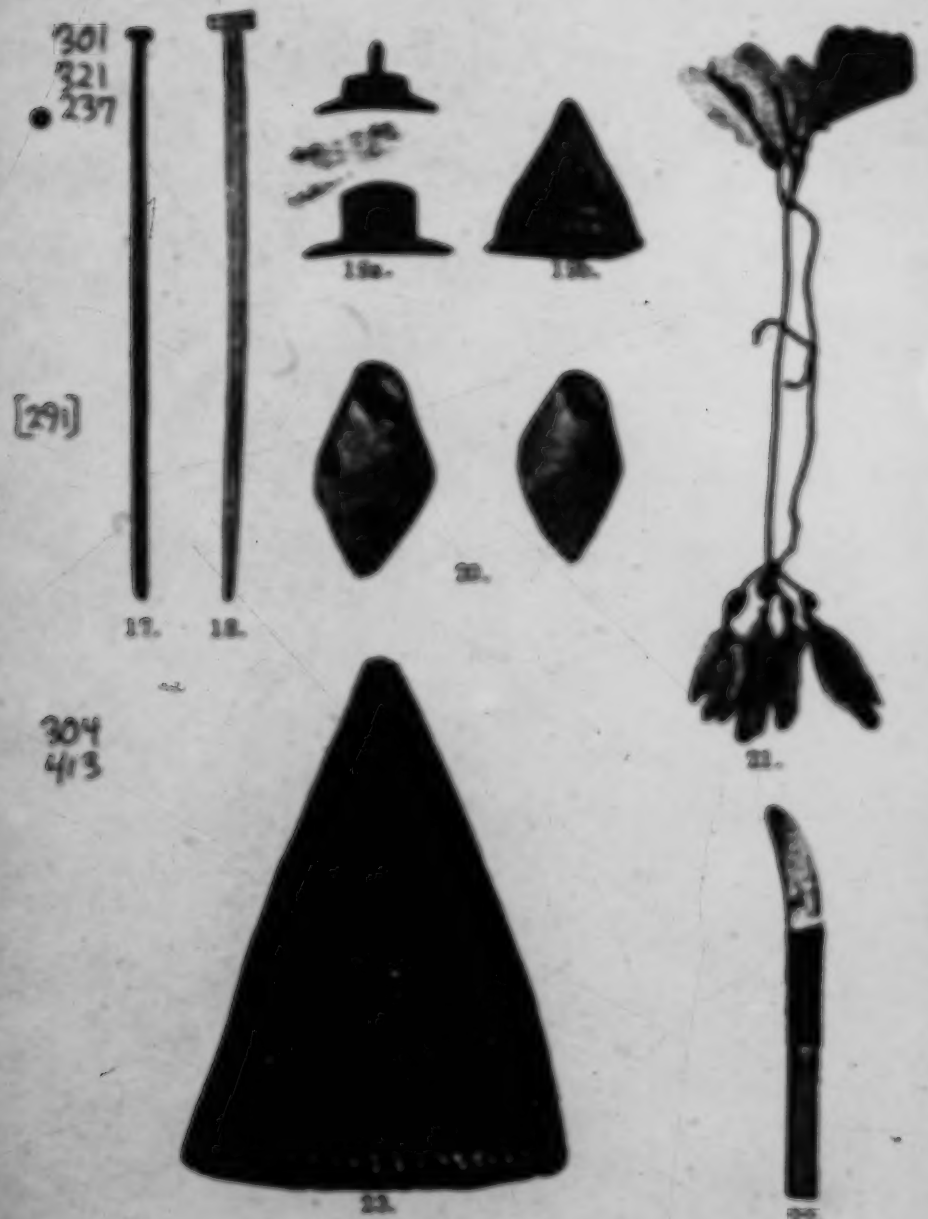
Photo. 16

Crown of jaguar te[illegible]

237
292

Baldus--176 E-6 (1933, 1947)1944-1949 SF22 Tapanapé SF22

1:Salom--177 E-S (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapiapé SP22



Photos. 17. Tembetá of deer bone. -- 18. Tembetá of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembetá. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembetá. -- 20. Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Sacrifice.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

893
T56
●237
T96

Fig. 1

Adereço — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

Adereço — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

[p. 42 is blank]

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxí were the chief Tanupamtxóa and Vuiraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuirantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxí belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirõ group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxí also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirõ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirõ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirõ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupamtxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his [856] family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

98 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [297] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms. [495]

On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of endurance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth Kanciampó, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.